

TO THE
PEOPLE OF THE U. S. OF AMERICA.
LETTER VII.

John Bull dangerously ill.—His disorder described.—Consultation of Physicians.—Their divers opinions as to the causes of the disorders, and as to the most proper remedies.—Shiness of the Physicians in giving their prescriptions.—The probable termination of the disorder.

Botley, 6th April, 1816.

In spite of all your anger against John Bull, on account of the proceedings of Captain Henry in peace, and on account of those of the Cochranes, and Cockburns, and Rosses, in war, as detailed in the memorable "Exposition" of February, 1815, I cannot help hoping, and, indeed, believing, that you still have a sort of sneaking kindness towards the old Gentleman; and that, having before heard of his illness, you will be pleased to know how he is now, what is the nature of his complaint, and what hopes his medical friends have of his recovery. But, before I proceed to give you information as to these matters, I cannot refrain from observing, how the Cossack Priests, and Governor Strong, and John's friends at Hartford, and Essex, and Mr. Goodloe Harper, and Judge Martin, and Mr. Otis, and Mr. Timothy Pickering, and my old friend the talking and wise Mr. John Randolph, of Virginia; I cannot help observing how these worthy personages, together with all the whole body of the New-England Noblesse, Grand Crosses, Commanders and all, must have been *astounded*, when they first heard of John's illness announced through the speeches in his own Parliament. They had, indeed, heard me *predict* his illness; but they, I dare say, like their fellow *loyalists* on this side of the water, compared my predictions to the croaking of a raven, or the howling of a dog, or the screeching of an owl. They have, nevertheless, come out true, at last; and, as it is certain that old John is in a very dangerous way, his friends must be anxious, not only to hear how he is at present, but what are the hopes of his recovery. I shall, therefore, give them and you an account of a recent consultation of his *Physicians*, stating the opinions of each

of them as to the *cause* of his illness, and, also, as to the *remedy* to be applied.

The disorder of this country, or, to drop the figure, the *distress* which prevails, has been before described to you. It is of a most extensive nature. It has plunged more than one half of the nation into *deep suffering*. But, of the nature of the distress we have already seen enough in former Numbers; though we must listen to a little more upon the subject by-and-by.

The debate, or, rather, *consultation*, which took place in St. Stephen's Chapel on the 28th of March deserves particular attention. You were before informed, that Mr. WESTERN (a member for the County of Essex) had brought forward a list of resolutions *upon the distresses of the Country*. These resolutions, together with my comments on them, you will find in No. 12 of this volume; that is to say, under date of the 23d of March. On the 28th the House went into a Committee on these resolutions. Here it was that the Members gave their opinions, relative to the *cause* of the complaint and to the *remedy* proper to be applied. I am now about, in the first place, to give you a brief analysis of what each speaker said; then, I shall endeavour to show you what the points of difference, in their opinions, are, as to *cause* and as to *remedy*; and, as I go along, I shall throw into *Notes*, an account of the *character of each speaker*; for, as I mean to make you all well acquainted with what is doing here, and of the real state of things, you ought to know the *actors*. I shall, therefore, in the form of *Notes*, give you an account of the characters, state of life, *seat*, &c. of every man to whose words I refer.

MR. LYTTLETON (a) opened the discus-

(a) A Member for Worcestershire, brother of Lord Lyttleton, and son-in-law of Lord Spencer. A stupid man, but as honest as any of the Boroughmonger race can well be. He is one of those silly people, who imagine, that the repeal of a tax, or some act about imports or exports, can put things to rights. Such men seldom *read* any thing beyond the mere newspapers; and they never *think* at all. I dare say, that Mr. Lyttleton is a most able fox-hunter and shooter of hares, pheasants, and partridges. Nay, he, very probably, understands the *laws*, made for the preservation of these animals: but, so do his huntsman and game-keeper.

sion, by observing, that a petition, on the subject, had been presented from the County of Worcester, complaining of extravagance in the public expenditure; calling for economy; disapproving of expending, in such a time as this, large sums upon public buildings and in the purchase of works of art; praying for the abolition of sinecures, and for a check on the Civil List expenses; and, finally, *deprecating all interference in the policy of other kingdoms*.—This is quite new language altogether; but the *last* sentiment is invaluable, as coming from a meeting of the whole County of Worcester, Nobles, Clergy, and all, who, as you will perceive, now express the very sentiments *which Jacobins expressed in 1793!* In the Petition of Wiltshire, the same sentiments are contained; (see No. 13, this vol.;) in that of Somersetshire, Middlesex, and the City of London these sentiments are echoed and re-echoed; but, in that of Somersetshire there is a prayer, that *our shame* may not be perpetuated by *monuments of Stone and Mortar*.

MR. WESTERN(b) followed Mr. Lyttleton.

(b) This gentleman, who is one of the members for the County of Essex, is about 54 years of age. He is a considerable land owner, and is one of the many gentlemen in England, who have been carried away by the rage for *farming and cattle-breeding*. This has been a great evil, it has puffed up empty-headed and full-pursed farmers, who, when they come to sit down at the same table with Lords and Baronets, assumed all the *pride* of rank, without having any of its *education*. Hence the farmers, in general, have become a most insolent race of men towards the common tradesmen, and most outrageous tyrants towards the labouring part of the community. Hence the shocking treatment of our paupers in many places. Mr. Western farms a great deal himself. He has prided himself upon being regarded as the inventor, or improver, of *agricultural implements*. And I once saw him receive a *silver bowl*, as a prize for the best fat half merino sheep, with as much satisfaction as a youth receives a prize at the University! I never was but at one meeting of this kind, which I attended out of mere curiosity; and any thing so disgusting, I certainly never beheld; for, what can possibly be more disgusting, than to see a parcel of vulgar-minded men, dressed in fine clothes, and talking with all the consequence of so many lords! There were four or five sensible men present, but all the rest did not appear to possess brains enough to furnish a single skull. Mr. Western is a very worthy man; but a very conceited man, and, as is always the

After saying that the state of the country was very alarming, he said that the primary CAUSE was an accumulation of produce beyond the demand; that this produced a fall in prices; that fall produced a diminution of the quantity of paper money in circulation; that from these causes *a transfer of property had taken place from the tax payers to the tax receivers*. Then, as to REMEDY, he wanted the Malt duty further reduced, wanted the duty taken off English Spirits, and wanted such duties imposed as would prevent the importation of corn, wool, flax-seed, rape-seed, clover, and other seeds, all which, except corn, are now freely imported according to law.—I cannot refrain from observing here, that, if this opinion about the *transfer of property* be not perfectly correct, I must be content to pass for an ass, having stated it, urged it, and re-urged it, over and over again, at different times, for the last 12 years! Truth must prevail first or last.—Mr. WESTERN concluded with the following: “That the consumption of Barley, and, consequently, the demand for it, were very materially reduced by the excessive duties to which it was subjected, and *that those duties ought to be repealed*.”

Mr. BRAND(c) came next. He began by a description of the distresses of the country, which prevailed, and which description I will give you in his *own words*; because I wish Governor Strong, and Parsons Osgood, and Parish, and Gardiner, to hear the description “*of the world's last hope*” from the lips of those whose statements they will not even affect to doubt. They

case with conceited men, he is very shallow. There is no doubt of his sincere desire to do good to his country; but, he has not the capacity to perceive what is necessary to that great end; and, if he had, he has not the courage to propose it in Parliament.

(c) Mr. Brand, who is one of the Members for Hertfordshire, is one of the best, and even one of the most able men in Parliament. His estate is very large; his character in all respects excellent; still a young man, though an old Member of the House of Commons; and, if such a man refrains from *speaking out*, judge you of the ticklish state in which we are! Mr. Brand knows very well, that the remedies he talked of would be no remedies at all; and yet he, who has no vanity to gratify; who has nothing to wish for from any source, and who has nothing to fear, refrains from saying in Parliament that which he every day says in private conversation.

do not doubt my word, but, they affect to do it. They shall, therefore, have the description, in this instance, from Mr. BRAND, a member for the County of Hertford. He said, that "His Majesty's Ministers were not aware of the distress which prevailed throughout the country. The alarming and extraordinary sufferings of the lower classes must excite the sympathy of every well-constituted mind. No additional privations could be demanded of them; and unless their present distress were immediately relieved, they must groan under wants at which every good man must revolt. He had anticipated, in the course of last session, the situation to which the agricultural labourers would be reduced, and every thing which he had then ventured to express as a matter of prophecy, had actually come to pass. The time had arrived when the occupation of land had been suspended—There were many parts of the rich counties in which the agricultural classes laboured under a state of distress which must rend the heart of every person that was capable of feeling. He could state many facts to the House which had come to his personal knowledge, and had received various communications on the subject, which demanded the most serious attention. A Magistrate of the greatest respectability, in one of the most opulent parts of Cambridgeshire, had sent him a letter that morning, in which he stated the extent of the distress that prevailed among the labouring classes. He would take the liberty of reading the following extract: 'I am sure you will not be surprised, after what I mentioned on a former occasion, to hear the distresses of those who are engaged in agricultural pursuits in this neighbourhood. Only eight pence a day is given to strong, healthy, single men, who are capable of the greatest labour.' (Hear, hear!) Dreadful as this situation was, he feared a much worse state of things. Shortly before he left the country, a respectable farmer, residing on that spot which Camden had called the garden of England, came to ask his advice respecting the payment of poor's rates; he was the only remaining cultivator in that part of the country, and had become chargeable with all the poor's rates of the parish. When he was asked

where the other occupiers were, he replied, that they had been obliged to abandon their farms, and the landlords would not occupy the land, lest they should become liable to the rates. He was told that under these circumstances, he must bear the burthen. "But pray tell me," says he, "when I leave my farm, what is to become of the poor?" I replied, "they must go to the neighbouring parishes." This had been the fact; but, as the surrounding parishes were unable to sustain this crowd of transfer, the poor had spread themselves, and occasioned devastation and distress wherever they proceeded. This circumstance alone must convince the Committee of the absolute necessity of applying some immediate relief, or this country would, in a very short period, be reduced to a situation in which it would be impossible to apply a remedy."—Now, Parson PARISH, what do you think of this? When you and your fellow labourers were forming processions; when you were joining with the Russian Consul and other friends of "Social Order," in putting up thanksgivings for the entry of those Social beings, the Cossacks, into Paris, when you were chanting, with sweet nasal twang, the praises of John Bull's Masters, and calling them "the Bulwark of Religion," did you suppose that they would bring things to this pass? Did you suppose, that all the sacrifices of blood and treasure, which John was making, would yield him this sort of reward? If you did suppose so; if you did expect to see the English people plunged into all this misery, in consequence of the war, you ought to be counted amongst our most cruel enemies; and, if you did not expect it, you must be men too shallow, too weak, in short, too foolish, to merit any degree of public confidence in future. This result, or consequence, of the war is a sad blow to the Hartford Convention and canting tribe of Benevolents, who, with the word benevolence on their lips, have been, for years, applauding measures of the most atrocious and cruel nature and tendency. Nay, this description of persons in America, by the encouragement which their language and acts gave to the enemies of freedom in Europe, have really a portion of our present sufferings to answer for. Their newspapers (the only ones which reached England from America) were quoted by

our hireling press, the sentiments which they contained, sentiments always hostile to freedom, were flung in our faces as a *proof*, that *even the people of America* were on the side of the war that our government was carrying on. The amount of the mischief that these men did in this way is not easily calculated; but, it is certain that the extent of the mischief they did us, had no other limit than that of their power; and, I am quite satisfied, that I can, whenever it shall be thought worth while, prove to the conviction of any unprejudiced mind, that, *to the aristocrats of America*, and to them alone, we owe all that part of our Debt which was created by the last American war, and to them both countries owe the shedding of rivers of blood. It was the opinion that the *American Government had secretly leagued with Napoleon to destroy the naval powers of England*; it was this opinion imbibed in England, that made the people of England really call for that war, and for its continuance after March, 1814. And the firm belief in this charge against the American government we owed to the "*Benevolent*" priests of that country, which were constantly quoted by that hireling press, and which finally produced and prolonged the war. So, Parson Parish, you see, that you have a good deal to answer for; and, really, when you now hear whole counties of "the fast-anchored Isle" putting forth the sentiments which your opponents have all along held, if your *shame* be little, your impudence must be monstrously great. Not, mind, that I am disposed to *ridicule* your appellation of "the fast-anchored Isle;" but, the truth is, that it was not to *England* that you felt attachment. It was to the cause and efforts, which were hostile to freedom; and to those you felt attachment, because they favoured your own views of religious domination, and of political revenge and ambition. From this digression I proceed to the REMEDY of Mr. BRAND, who wished for duties on wool and seeds imported; also a change in the *poor laws*; and further, for something to be done about *tithes*, which he called a "*destructive impost*."—Stop with me here, a moment, Parson GARDINER; and, let me recall to your mind, that, when the war against the republicans of France was begun, the *Clergy* in England were amongst the loudest in its favour. Nay, it is well

known, that the cause was said to be more peculiarly the cause of the *Church*. It is also well known, that the *Clergy* have all along been most zealous in support of the war; that they anxiously sought the restoration of the Bourbons in France, with their long litter of priests at their heels; and, that now, when the work of butchering Protestants has recommenced, not one single meeting of the *Clergy* of the Church of England has been held upon the subject. Well, Parson Gardiner, is it not curious, that this same war for "*Social Order* and our Holy Religion," should have produced a state of things, which induce even Members of Parliament to call *tithes* a "*destructive impost*," and seriously to propose to *do something* about them? Is this not a curious thing? Here is the nation in a state of shocking distress in consequence of the Debt created by the war. The war, then, has produced *shocking distress*; and, one of the proposed remedies is, to give *relief* to the *farmer* on the score of *tithes*, which are called a "*destructive impost*." Do you not think, Mr. Osgood, that your brethren in this country may soon be led to think, that they were not so very wise, when they urged on the war for the Bourbons? For my part, I care little about *tithes*. I know that it is fallacious to view them in the light of a destructive impost: but, if "*the friends of Social Order and our Holy Religion*" have a mind to view them in that light, upon my honour I have no objection to it, and am quite willing to leave the *Social Order* people and the *Clergy* to settle the matter in their own way, being very certain, that, do what they will, and do it when they will, that which they will do will, in the end, be beneficial to the cause of freedom all over the world.

LORD LACELLES(d) spoke next after Mr.

(d) This is a very mean and contemptible man. He is one of the Members for Yorkshire, and son of Lord Harewood, who was Mr. Lacelles, until he, by about 20 years of support of Pitt and his successors, obtained the title of Viscount and then of Earl, whence his son is called Lord by way of courtesy. These people are immensely rich. Their estates are principally in Yorkshire, of the power of which county they wield a considerable portion; and, one cannot help wondering how they can be so mean and base as to live under the infamy of even appearing to truckle to such a man as Jenkinson, (Liverpool,) or as Castlereagh.

Brand. He said, that the CAUSE of the distress was the *alteration in the value of the currency*. He objected to duties on wool imported, on account of the injury it would do to manufacturers. *The best relief was a reduction of taxes*, he said, but that he did not think that much good could arise from the *interference* of the House, which, notwithstanding the notions that prevailed, "*was not omnipotent*."—In which last opinion I most heartily concur with his lordship; but, I humbly presume to believe, that the parliament has the power to *reduce the taxes*, and, I will venture to assure the noble person, that if it would but reduce the taxes to about 30 millions a year, it might safely separate to-morrow, and leave the people to restart in a career of prosperity.

Col. Wood, (e) Member for Breconshire, followed Lord Lacelles. He agreed, that the principal CAUSE of the distress was the *alteration in the currency*. His REMEDIES were the taking off the tax on *salt*, and imposing duties on *cheese* imported. He did not approve of taking off the duties on English spirits; he, on the contrary, wished them to be *added to*, that more beer might be used. He praised the measure of reducing the Malt-Tax; said that the people of England loved beer very much, and would now be enabled to get more of it than they had of late years. He wished the tax to be taken off the riding horses of little farmers; and he expressed his belief, that some *new measure about tithes* would be *favourable to Religion*; and, that it was a pleasing reflection, that *peace* was now

Lord Lacelles is a man of no talent; a poor insignificant creature, who, very probably, read the few words he uttered from a piece of paper placed in his hat, this being by no means a rare practice in this "Honourable House," and a very common one, in the House of the "Noble Peers."

(e) This may be called a *regular trader*. He is a brother-in-law of Castlereagh, having married one of his sisters; and, in all human probability, with an eye to the profits to be derived from the patronage of his relation. At any rate, a much more dirty politician is not to be found, even in St. Stephen's Chapel. Whether he derives his impudence from his matrimonial alliance, or whether he possesses it from nature I know not, but brass, next after greediness, is certainly his most prominent characteristic; though it must be confessed that he is by no means deficient in that emptiness of head, for which his whole family have always been celebrated.

come to give us *leisure* to attend to these domestic affairs. I give my hearty assent to the proposition of the gallant Colonel, that the people are extremely fond of beer, especially if a large proportion of malt be employed in the manufacture of it; and, if he can but as easily obtain the assent of the Clergy to the proposition, that *doing something about tithes* would be favourable to religion, I should really begin to hope, that the House would soon enter upon the remedy of *parliamentary reform*, without which, I am fully persuaded, that the country will go on from bad to worse.

Mr. CURWEN(f) began by pronouncing a

(f) JOHN CHRISTIAN CURWEN is a curious sort of a man. He is a Member for Carlisle, and has been in parliament a great many years, except from 1812 to last year. He has just now been re-elected. A man of good estate; an agricultural madness-man; no court creature; wants no place or pension; but wants *fame*, which he is unable to acquire by any display of courage or talent; and, therefore, he is always on the look out for some occasion to step in, and by some *middle* proposition, to obtain a majority to vote *for him*; and, in this way, he has succeeded, upon more than one occasion in rendering the cause of corruption most essential service, though I by no means believe him to be a corrupt man himself. A remarkable instance of his success in undertakings of this kind happened in 1809. Mr. Maddocks had brought forward direct charges of seat-selling against Perceval, Castlereagh, and Henry Wellesley, and was ready to produce his proof at the bar. Sir Francis Burdett, Wardle, Peter Moore, Whitbread, and some few others, now pressed the necessity of *reforming the House*. Both the regular factions opposed reform, of course, because reform would have cut up the whole system of corruption by the roots. This was a fine opportunity for Curwen, who made a long speech about the necessity of *maintaining the purity* of the House, at the end of which he proposed a *Bill*, which he had got ready, to put an end, as he said, to the *sale of seats*. Both the factions hailed him as a deliverer from their dilemma. They took his bill in hand, and it was actually passed, at last, leaving no part of it except the mere *title*; for, even the *preamble* was almost wholly changed. Mr. WYNDHAM, who was against any thing at all being done, and who boldly maintained that corruption was a good thing, ridiculed Curwen for still adhering to his Bill after it had been thus changed. "But," said he, "the honourable gentleman seems resolved to have the reputation of being a *father*. He knows, like a great many other affectionate fathers, that the child which he is now dandling, is

high eulogium on the diligence and accuracy which his honourable friend, Mr. WESTERN, had shown in the collection of his information, and on the great ability which he had displayed in laying it before the House; but, he was sorry to say it, he differed from his honourable friend both with regard to the *cause* of the distress and to the *remedy* which ought to be applied. He said, that there was *no surplus* produce; that the *CAUSE* was the *withdrawing of a large part of the paper money lately in circulation*; that this, and this alone, caused prices to fall. His *REMEDY*: a loan, *from the government to the farmers*, of 12 millions: the loan to each farmer not to exceed half a year's rent: the government to have the joint security of landlord and tenant. He agreed, that Mr. WESTERN'S *pawning plan* might do as far as related to London and its vicinity. Wished for a radical change in the poor laws; and was very desirous to see *some measure adopted about tithes*. When I came to Mr. CURWEN'S name, immediately after the speech of Colonel Wood, who had so highly extolled the taste of the people for *beer*, I expected to hear the Colonel's doctrines most ably controverted, the former gentleman having written and published a book of considerable bulk, the chief object of which is, to convince the people of England, that strong beer is a very bad beverage, and that *milk* is the drink to which they ought to stick from the first to the last moment of their existence. Whether this gentleman will obtain the *loan* for us from the government, I know not; but, I am sure he will fail, if his arguments in favour of the loan do not prove more successful than his arguments in fa-

"none of his; but it will bear his *name*, and "that is quite enough to satisfy his desires." The Bill, giving a sort of sanction to the very corruption which Curwen professed to wish to destroy, was, however, passed, and it is called "*Mr. Curwen's Bill*" to this day. This is the consequence of *vanity*, which is a hankering after fame in those who do not possess the qualifications whereby to acquire it. The mischief which was done by this bill can hardly be estimated. The whole country began to think about moving for reform; but, when it was known that Mr. Curwen had brought in a *Bill* upon the subject, the people turned back again to their own affairs. So that, really, without being a corrupt man himself, we have, perhaps, never known so efficient a friend of corruption as Mr. Curwen.

vour of milk, as a substitute for beer; for, having actually tried the force of the book upon more than a dozen of my servants, at different times, I am able to state positively, that, though I read it with all the emphasis that I am master of, there was not one man of them who did not, at the end of the lecture, laugh in my face. There was one observation of Mr. CURWEN'S which calls for a little notice here. He said, that he once saw, in Norfolk, (at Norwich,) 100 farmers, who were worth from 5,000*l.* to 30,000*l.* each. "Proud sight!" exclaimed he; "such as no "other country can present." With all due deference for the superior judgment and taste of the proposer of the loan of 12 millions, and the author of the encomium on milk, I beg leave to say, that I differ with him in opinion with regard to the *sight* here mentioned. I do not stop my view at the great, fat, rosy-gill'd farmer, in England, any more than I would at the not less great, fat, and rosy-gill'd Monk in Spain or Portugal. When I see a great farmer, I know that he has from 40 to 100 poor wretches of *paupers*, or *half-starved labourers*, at home; and, if he were to bring all these with their rags, and long beards, and lank jaws, and sunk eyes, and scabby heads; if the 100 farmers, whom Mr. Curwen mentions as having seen at Norwich, had brought their five or six thousands of these poor creatures along with them, the "*sight*" would not have been so very "*proud*," though, as I verily believe, it would have been a sight to be seen "*in no other country on earth*;" thanks to the war; by which we have restored the Bourbons and loaded ourselves with 60 millions of taxes a year. Instead of these 100 English farmers, with their five or six thousand of miserable wretches at home, I should prefer 500 American farmers, not worth more than 3,000 pounds any one of them, but who would leave no miserable wretches at home. I should think this a much *prouder sight*; and so, I am persuaded, would Mr. Curwen, if he could but see it.

Mr. LESLIE FOSTER(g) said we are arrived at a dilemma; that we must submit to a subtraction from British Capital, or con-

(g) This is some very new man. He is not yet in any Calendar. He is, probably, some lawyer, who has rented a seat for a Session or two.

tinue to contend against the low prices of foreign markets. His REMEDY was an exclusion of foreign corn.

Sir JOHN NEWPORT(h) said, that, great as the distress was in England, it was *still greater in Ireland*, where no relief had been given. He stated no cause; but his REMEDY was a preference of the produce of Ireland before the produce of other countries; and was happy to state, that a bill was about to be brought in to protect Ireland against the importation of foreign butter.

Mr. PEEL(i) said, that, great as the distress was in England, it was *still greater in Ireland*, where no relief whatever had been given. He stated no cause; but his REMEDY was a preference of the produce of Ireland before the produce of other countries; and was happy to state, that a bill was brought in to protect Ireland against the importation of foreign butter.

Mr. ROBINSON(k) made a speech, in which his principal object appeared to be to prepare the ground for *rejecting* all the propositions relative to a *check to importation*. He said, that, if this scheme were acted upon to any considerable extent, it would cut up commerce by the roots. He thought that Mr. Western's arguments, in favour of non-importation, were fallacious, and would appear so upon examination. Mr. ROBINSON was right; but they had been *examined* in my No. 12. of this volume; that is to say, in the number of 23d of March; and, if examined to the end of time, I defy any one to show the

(h) Member for Waterford. He was the Irish Chancellor of the Exchequer, during the Fox Administration. A feeble little man, with a mind proportioned to his body; but, he is amongst the very few honest men who came into the House from Ireland.

(i) The son of Sir Robert Peel. He is Chief Secretary for Ireland, and this office has been little better than hangman to the "*Sister Kingdom*" ever since Castlereagh filled it. He began that work of torture and bloodshed, which has never since ceased for one single day; and, I dare say, never will cease, 'til that oppressed people shall rise upon their tyrants and destroy them.

(k) A real Scotch sycophant, who has the management of the *board of trade*; but, a cool, clear, long-headed man. He appears to see the state of the country in its true light. He is a thorough-paced place-hunter, and will, I dare say, stick to the carcass of John Bull as long as there is a drop of blood remaining in it.

fallacy of the propositions in a much clearer or stronger light. Indeed, the resolutions stand there convicted of total inefficacy, except that which I allowed to be efficacious; namely, *the taking off of taxes on Malt*, provided they were not imposed on any other articles, or in any other shape.

Mr. FRANKLAND LEWIS(l) began by regretting that his honourable friend, who spoke last, (and who is at the head of the Board of Trade,) seemed to hold out no hope of any thing being intended, by the Ministers, to be done for the interests of agriculture. This gave him great uneasiness, though he did not pretend to impute blame. "He would," he said, "entreat the House, however, not to let the agriculture, the main interest of the state, fall into decay, without deliberately considering every measure that might avert such a calamity. It was not this or that branch of manufactures, it was not Spitalfields or Coventry, whose existence was at stake: it was that of England itself, to which all other interests were mere appendages. The question was, whether the land owners of England shall be reduced to the lowest rank in the scale of society? If they were pressed down to the earth, then would perish the safeguards of the Constitution; the frame of the whole of English society; and, though the language might remain, *England would never be again that for which she had been admired.* (Hear, hear.) He had anxiously listened to all that had been said in the Committee; and he must say, that if ever there was a remarkable coincidence of opinion on all sides of the House, it was manifested on the present occasion. Here the honourable Gentleman briefly enumerated the causes to which the agricultural distresses of the country might be ascribed, concluding with the more recent one of the withdrawing of the *country-bank*

(l) This is a new man. He has bought a seat for the rotten borough of Beaumaris, or hired it of the owner. Nobody could tell me *who he was*, when I was in London, about a month ago. Seats are become *cheaper* than they were. They let or sell at prices proportioned to the quantity of places, pensions, contracts, and jobs that are going. I suppose that one might rent a seat now for 500 pounds a year.

"circulation. He had listened anxiously
 "to his Hon. Friend, expecting to hear
 "some observations from him *on the money*
 "*circulation of the country.*—When
 "attention was directed to this topic, it
 "would naturally occur that, from the dis-
 "tress prevailing among the farmers,
 "there was likely to be a diminished sup-
 "ply and consequent high prices. This
 "was not a consolatory prospect to the
 "people, though undoubtedly a remedy
 "would in this way be afforded to the
 "agricultural interest. But, then, *from the*
 "*altered value of our currency, there were*
 "*no means of obtaining relief.* He calcu-
 "lated that the price of wheat had fallen
 "within these five years from 100s. per
 "quarter to 50s. Of this fall in price he
 "ascribed 20 per cent. to the altered va-
 "lue of our currency, which had now
 "risen nearly to its own standard, and
 "the other 30 per cent. to the fall in the
 "real value of the commodity, occasion-
 "ed by peace, and other circumstances.
 "*Was this, he would ask, to be the perma-*
 "*nent state of things? This was by far*
 "*the most important part of the present*
 "*discussion.* The fall in the real value
 "of grain was a matter beyond the regula-
 "tion of the House; but the fall of price,
 "to the amount of twenty per cent., occa-
 "sioned by the rise in the value of our cur-
 "rency, was the point to which the atten-
 "tion of the Legislature ought to be main-
 "ly directed, as *being within its control.*
 "He would conjure Ministers and the
 "House not to leave the country at sea,
 "*the sport of this most dangerous system.*
 "The depreciation of currency was not
 "attended with the same hazardous con-
 "sequences under the despotic govern-
 "ments of the Continent as with us.
 "What these governments once did in
 "adulterating and depreciating the cur-
 "rency of their respective states, could
 "not be again undone, and hence all con-
 "tracts accommodated themselves to the
 "change. In this way the value of the
 "ruble in Russia had been depreciated
 "from half a crown to 10d.; but here we
 "had got to this situation, that our notes
 "could be diminished in value in the same
 "proportion. Hence our system was one
 "of infinitely greater hazard than any
 "other course that ever was pursued. If
 "our standard of currency *was to be main-*
 "*tained at every sacrifice, why did not*
 "Government, taking advantage of the

"present price of specie, compel the
 "Bank to resume payment in coin?
 "Then, at least, we should have the cer-
 "tainty, that the fall of 20 per cent. on
 "agricultural produce could never be re-
 "covered. If, however, cash payments
 "were not resumed, then he believed that
 "a great part of that paper that had been
 "withdrawn from circulation would be
 "gradually re-issued, increasing the prices
 "of every commodity, and proceeding
 "exactly in the same course as that which
 "the country had already witnessed.
 "*Something must be done* to secure us from
 "the dangers of the system. Better
 "would it be to sit down with the loss of
 "20 per cent. than gradually to increase
 "the circulation of the country to an in-
 "definite extent, and thus expose the
 "country to the dangers that might arise
 "from a sudden panic. The system to
 "which he now alluded had in its effects
 "been the chief cause of our agricultural
 "distress. It was true there were diffi-
 "culties—we had borrowed hundreds of
 "millions *in a depreciated currency, which*
 "*we had now to pay at par.* (*Hear, hear!*)
 "From this circumstance a greater share
 "*of the property of the country was trans-*
 "*ferred from the landholder to the stock-*
 "*holder, than had been contemplated at the*
 "*time of the loans.* If the price of all ar-
 "ticles of life, and even the expenses of
 "the state should be reduced, (which he
 "trusted by the exertions of that House
 "would happen,) yet the sum to be paid
 "to the holders of such stock *remained*
 "*the same.* It had been thought strange
 "by some that an exuberance of produce
 "should be a source of calamity. But
 "the real source of the evil was the al-
 "teration in the value of this produce in
 "exchange."—Ay, this is all *very true,*
 "you in America will say; "but, why do
 "you, Mr. Cobbett, tell us of it in the
 "words of Mr. Lewis, when you have told
 "it us, and proved it all to us, as clear
 "as daylight in your letters to your
 "Chancellor of the Exchequer, more than
 "five months ago? What do you pester
 "us with this opinion of Mr. Lewis for,
 "of whom we know nothing at all?"—
 "Patience, my friends. I know, that you
 "know all about the matter. I know very
 "well, that this speech of Mr. Lewis, only
 "repeats what I have said and proved many
 "times over. I do not know Mr. Lewis
 "any more than you do. I never heard of

him before in my life. I did not know what seat he filled, 'til I looked for his name in the Court Calendar. But, his speech is made in *Parliament*, and he calls Mr. Robinson his honourable friend, which will have great weight with Parson Oscood, and the other friends of "the Bulwark of your Religion." There is no imputation of sterility of mind due to any of the Members on account of their repeating my opinions and arguments; for, I defy them to say any thing rational upon the subject, which I have not said before them; and, what is more, I defy them to *do* any thing *effectual* in the way of remedy, that I have not more than ten times pointed out.—Mr. LEWIS, after expressing his disapprobation of the *loan project* of Mr. CURWEN, and, observing, that he did not see why we should find the means of enriching the planters of Virginia and Maryland, concluded by proposing an *export of wool*, and the *growth of Tobacco in England*.

Such, then, Americans, was this *consultation*. It broke up, and was to be resumed on the 2nd instant; but, I could not wait for that. Besides, nothing *new* will be said, perhaps, and, I am quite certain, that nothing will be *done*, before I shall write to you again.

Now, then, what is the sum total of what was said upon this occasion? I will endeavour to state it in distinct propositions thus:—I. That the COMPLAINT of the country is, the greatest degree of distress and misery; that whole parishes have been deserted by the cultivators of the land; that the owners of the land refuse to take it in hand, lest they should be liable to be made pay the rates; that the labouring people are almost all become paupers; that, in some cases, having nobody to relieve them, they have spread themselves over the country, carrying devastation and alarm with them; and that the evil threatens to become greater instead of less.—II. That the principal CAUSE, if not the only cause, is, an alteration in the value of the paper money, which alteration has transferred a great part of the property of the owners of lands, farm stock, and stock in trade, from these owners to the owners of money and receivers of taxes.—III. That the REMEDIES to be applied are a loan of money from the government to the farmers, the non-importation of the produce of foreign

countries, and (though none but that on Malt is named) a reduction of taxes.

The *complaint* and *cause* confirm what I have been telling you for many months. But, alas! what remedies are here? *Taking off taxes*, indeed, is a remedy; for it is the taxes which have produced the misery; that is to say, taxes kept on at *full* while the produce was reduced in value more than one half. But, as to a *loan* to the farmers, *whence* is it to come, except out of taxes *first raised*? and, what good would the loan of half a year's rent be to any man? He must pay the money back again, and pay interest for it. However, though this project will answer no other purpose, it will serve to give you a pretty good idea of the state to which this country has been reduced by its wars, which have ended in the restoration of the Bourbons, the Pope, and the Inquisition, and which have enabled those Bourbons to put to death the brave Marshal Ney. The propositions for taxing foreign cheese, butter, corn, seeds, tobacco, wool, &c. &c. are all grounded in error. The tax, if paid, must be paid by the people here; if the tax amount to a prohibition, it will operate most heartily against the commerce and manufactures; and, indeed, as Mr. Robinson observed, we should, in this manner, be doing precisely, only more effectually, that which Napoleon expected and endeavoured to do by his *continental system*.

To you, in America, it will be matter of great surprise, that the *remedies* proposed are so inadequate to the nature of the complaint. A loan to A., out of A's own money, to enable A. to keep up under the pressure of the continual demands of B., is such an idea! It is such a remedy! Such a *cure* for poor A's complaint! Yes, it must puzzle you to find out, why the *transfer of property* is not attempted to be *put a stop to*. The truth is, that many men, and, perhaps, a very great majority of the two Houses, clearly enough see what can alone afford real protection to the landlords and farmers; but, they do not like to *speak out*. As a matter of *theory*, Mr. WESTERN talks of the transfer of property from the land owners to the fund and salary owners; as a matter of *theory*, Mr. LEWIS says, that we have borrowed hundreds of millions in a *depreciated currency*, the interest of which we are now called upon to *pay in a currency*.

at par. As a matter of *theory*, these important truths, long ago stated by me, are now stated in Parliament. But, as to *practice*; as to any *practical* proposition on the subject, no one has yet ventured to bring forward any such thing: nor do I believe, that any such measure; that is to say, that any thing *effectual* will be attempted, 'til pressed forward by absolute necessity.

To propose to touch the interest of the fundholders, though certainly *just*, to an extent of about one half, seeing that all prices have fallen one half; to propose this is too bold a thing for any man in either House. The world would not clearly understand the grounds of the measure; a breach of faith would be chimed in our ears; and, besides, to propose such a measure, without proposing to take one half, at least, from the Civil List, from the sinecures and pensions, and from the pay of officers, and soldiers, and sailors, would be monstrously unjust and profligate. Thus, you see, the way to immediate and effectual relief is barred up principally by those who receive the wages of corruption. These public robbers (for such all mankind must think them) cannot vote for any effectual remedy, because, as you clearly see, it must embrace, or be preceded by, their own robberies being put an end to. So that, after all, it is still this vile and corrupt system of government, and that alone, which is now pressing to the very earth a people the most industrious that ever existed.

How the thing will *end* it is impossible for any man to guess. The best end would be the total blowing up of the corrupt system, and the restoring to the people their right of choosing their representatives. This would be the best end; and, it is within the scope of possibility, and even of probability, that this may be the end. I suppose, that this present session will be got over without any very serious change. But, I do not believe that two sessions more can. The resources of England are wonderful in *amount*; and they are doubly efficacious from the compact state in which they lie, and the skill and energy with which they are put in motion and managed by so laborious and persevering a people. But, to me, it appears impossible, that we can be made to pay, in a paper nearly at par, more than about 40 millions of pounds yearly in

taxes. And, if I am nearly correct in my estimate upon this point, it is very clear that the system must go to pieces. By the *system*, I mean the system of corruption, rotten boroughs, and public robbery, interwoven as they are with the system of banks and paper money. There is a very considerable portion of the nation, who are satisfied that no good can arise from any *change* other than the one here spoken of. You will easily perceive what such a change would do for England, in which name I include Ireland and Scotland. You will easily see how favourable to the freedom, peace, and happiness of the *world*, a wise and just government in England would be. If the people of England had the choosing of their representatives, do you imagine that such men as Perceval, and Castlereagh, and Canning, and Rose, would be in Parliament? Do you imagine, that a House of Commons, chosen by the people, would have done what this House has done in voting salaries and pensions? Ah, no! We should be governed by men of wisdom and integrity; the press would spread about light instead of darkness; we should see the folly as well as the wickedness of unnecessary war; and, as we have really nothing to fear from any foreign power, and are *naturally* a brave, sincere, and honest people, instead of being, as we have long been, the scourge of half the world, we might become its benefactor by our example at home and a just use of our power abroad. Is this *too much* to hope for? I do not say that I *expect* to see it; but, I do say, that it is possible, and even probable, that this great good; this inestimable good, will, at last, arise out of the evils which now press upon the nation.

WM. CORBETT.

THE AMERICAN PACKET.

No. I.

Botley, 6th April, 1816.

DEAR JOHN BULL,

I some time ago observed, that it was my intention to make, as far as I was able, the two nations, the English and the Americans, *well acquainted with each other*, it being my opinion, that nothing was so likely to be really useful to both. In order to be able to do this, I have taken measures for obtaining early and correct

information from America; my plan of correspondence has been settled with great care, and it is now just going to begin to operate.

You have, my dear John, been sadly cajoled for a great many years; you have been made to believe, that it was necessary for you to spend 25 thousand millions in order to *save your property*, and to prevent your religion from being *taken out of your very heart*. In fact, you now see yourself, after all your toil and sacrifices, reduced to *ruin* by a war, the effect, and the only striking effect, of which has been to restore the Bourbons, whom you always called despots; to restore the Pope, whom you always called the scarlet whore of Babylon; to restore the Inquisition, the very name of which used to make your blood run cold; and to enable the Bourbons to put to death, to imprison, or to banish, the brave Frenchmen, who had fought, or written, or spoke, in the cause of that liberty, the very sound of which was formerly so delightful to an English ear.

Therefore, John, this is the season to call upon you to reflect, and to endeavour to turn your eyes towards a country inhabited by men who are really free, who proceed, generally speaking, from the same stock with yourself, who speak the same language, who have the same *common law*, who, like you, poke their bowsprits into every port in the world, who stir about like you in all sorts of affairs, who, like you, have a score or two of religions, who are pretty nearly as proud as yourself, (and, at present, with much better reason,) who talk like you, write like you, and fight like you; and, who, in short, resemble you in almost every thing, except that they are not, like you, to be *gulled* out of their money, and to be induced to forge chains wherewith to enable crafty and base tyrants to bind them to the oar.

Pray, my dear John, do not suffer the corrupt knaves of the press to make you believe, any longer, that it is France and the Continent of Europe, to which your eyes ought to be directed. You have no business in France or in Germany. You can learn nothing there. Come with me, John, and take a look at America. In one sense I am glad, that the people there are at three thousand miles distance from you; but, in another, I wish they were

near enough for you to see them and hear them talk. To bring you as close to them as possible shall be my object; and, if you will but read me with attention, I will teach you more useful knowledge than you have ever yet possessed. It is the business of our *writing knaves* to keep you in the dark with regard to this great and prosperous country. It shall be my business to open your eyes.

Now, let me, before I proceed a step further, caution you against giving way to that *envy*, to which you are so liable. Do not suppose, that, because I am about to hold out the *example* of America to England, that I prefer another country to my own. If a man bids his son look at the good behaviour of some other young man, do we hence conclude, that he does not love that son so well as he ought? This would be a very perverse mode of reasoning indeed; but, not more perverse than it would be to suppose, that I prefer America to England, because I wish the latter to profit from the bright example of the former. I see my country in misery; in a state of shocking degradation, and hastening fast to decay. I hear this now acknowledged by the law-makers themselves. I wish to see it in a different state. I am uneasy at seeing myself surrounded by ruined neighbours and increasing paupers. And, am I acting a part unworthy of a true Englishman in endeavouring to show my countrymen, in the example of America, what are some, at any rate, of the means of rescuing themselves from present misery, and of guarding themselves against its return at any future period?

And, why should we Englishmen *envy* the Americans? They are no rivals of ours. It is impossible for them to prosper without our sharing in the prosperity, if we act wisely and justly towards them. In no possible circumstances can they do us any *real* injury. It is *possible*, that, in *time*, they may spread their power over *colonies* that we now claim; but, with reflecting men, the holding of those colonies is, at least, a *doubtful good* to us, while the seizing of them would give no real advantage to the Americans. With this little, strong, compact country of ours, situated as it is, and inhabited by so laborious and brave a people, what have we to *fear*? Why should we fret and tease ourselves with the anticipation of

dangers, at which, if we would open our eyes, nature herself would bid us laugh? Shall neither we nor our children ever know five years of real peace? Must we always be kept on the look-out for somebody to fight with? But, above all things, is it not horrible to think of, that two nations of common origin, and whose harmonious intercourse is calculated to preserve the peace of the whole world, and to extend light, liberty, and happiness, to every corner of the earth; is it not horrible to reflect, that two such nations should, to gratify the malice and avarice of artful knaves, be made to believe, that the destruction of the one is necessary to the safety of the other? Pray, John, believe no such thing. Hear with patience what I tell you about America; and, you will not find me a flatterer of her any more than of you. I shall convey to you the intelligence I receive, and I shall not fail to point out what I deem to be her follies, errors, or faults.

The ignorance that prevails in England, with regard to the Republic of America, is quite surprising. A tradesman asked me the other day, whether the Americans had not a *king*. A young man, also a tradesman, and a very respectable one, asked me, last Summer, whether there were yet any *Inns* or *Shops* in America; and, as he intended to go to Philadelphia soon, he asked me whether he could, upon his landing, get a lodging readily and buy victuals. This is very strange, but it is strictly true. This young man came from Winchester, and when I told him, that there were *twenty times* as many people in Philadelphia as in Winchester, and that the worst street in the former was finer than the main street of the latter, he stared at me with astonishment.

To become a mere *geographer* of the United States is what I cannot consent to; but, some account of the *government* and *political affairs* of that country seems necessary here, in order that the transactions, of which I shall have to speak, may be understood by my English readers in general, very few of whom, though exceedingly well informed in most other respects, appear to know any thing on this subject.

The government of the United States consists of a *President*, elected for 4 years; a *Senate*, elected for 6 years, parts of it

going out in rotation; and a *House of Representatives*, elected for 2 years. The regulations for the conducting of the business of making laws are nearly like those of our Parliament; and, the President, like our king, is the Executive officer. The three together are called the *Congress*. There is monstrous difference in the detail of the persons there and here. But this is enough for the present, in the way of description so far. *The whole are elected by the people at large*, with some little difference in the qualifications of the electors in different States, and with some regulations as to intermediate elections, or choosing by delegates. But, substantially, the whole of the Congress is chosen by the people, every man paying taxes having a vote.

Besides this, which is called the *General Government*, there is a government in each of the *States*, which government has at its head a Chief Magistrate, called a *Governor*, and it has also a Legislature of its own. These State Governments pass laws and make regulations for their respective States; but, as to all matters of commerce or external revenue, and as to all *foreign matters*, they have no power; consequently, they have nothing to do in deciding upon questions of *peace* or *war*, which belong solely to the general government. There are some differences in the qualifications of the electors in different States; but, generally and substantially speaking, there is no power of *making laws* or of *raising money*, which is not derived directly from the people, and which does not revert to them again at the end of a very short period.

As to *religion*, there is no *established Church* in America. There are all sorts of *religions* there, just as there are here. Church people, Presbyterians, Quakers, Methodists, Roman Catholics, and every other sort. The people are full as religious as they are in England. They are just as ready to start *new sects* and *new notions* about religion; and, in this particular, the country is, in fact, still an English Colony. There can no new thing about religion spring up in England, but away it goes to be greedily adopted in the United States. Sunday Schools, Bible Societies, Lancaster Schools, Religious Tracts; any thing; no matter what it is, or from whence it proceeds, or from what motive it originates here, it is sure

to be received in that country, and to run like wild-fire. Then the people there follow close upon our heels in all *humanity schemes*. There are all sorts of *Societies* for charitable purposes. Lying-in-women Societies, and, I am afraid, there is even a Magdalen Society, or something very much like it. Not having any, or scarcely any, real misery or pauperism in the country, the people there, who must have every thing in the humanity way that we have, seem to have formed a resolution to create for themselves, under one appellation or another, a becoming retinue of paupers. And, the best part of the thing, as a joke, is, that the persons, in America, who take the lead in all these matters, are, most probably, persons of *real* humanity, and are moved by a sincere desire to do good to their fellow creatures; while, in England, they consist of some of the most profligate persons of the age. I have looked over the lists of the "*Bible Society*" and of the "*Society for the suppression of Vice*," and have marked with my pen the names of *ninety-five* men, who are notorious for bribery and corruption, or for some other daring offence against good morals. But, it is so well known a fact, that these Societies have sprung out of hypocrisy and fraud, that it would be useless to dwell upon them. They serve to amuse an ignorant and credulous multitude, and that is the sole object which their founders and supporters, in general, have in view.

With the exception of this instance of most scandalous folly, which I never can excuse even on the ground of that feeling of kindness out of which it has sprung, the Americans are truly a wise people; they are all, (if natives of that country,) able to read and write; they are, in general, well informed as to the main principles, and even the details of law and justice; they understand well their civil and political rights and duties, and, while they watch over and defend the former with the greatest vigilance and resolution, they most cheerfully perform the latter. In no country upon earth are there so few instances of breaches of the peace. It is a country where no one is a respecter of *persons*, and where every one is a respecter of the *law*.

But, it is to the *political parties* in America, that I wish to call your particular attention; for, without knowing some-

thing of the origin and progress of these, you will not be able to comprehend clearly a great deal of the information, which it will be my object to convey to you. You see, in our newspapers, the words *Federalist*, and *Republican*, and *Democrat*; but, it is impossible for you, without explanation, to know what they mean; and yet, it is of very great importance that you should know this; for, as you will see, by the sequel, the real cause of the late war between this country and America was not wholly unconnected with this history of political parties.

When the first American war was brought to a close, and America had gained the recognition of her Independence, it became necessary to form a General Government, capable of preserving that Independence by binding all the separate States together, and capable of managing the affairs of the whole as far as related to foreign nations. A Convention met for this purpose. Different men had different notions of the sort of government that ought to be formed; but, the assembly, consisting, perhaps, of as many wise men as ever were assembled upon any occasion in the world, may be considered as being divided into two parties. One for giving *very little* power to the General Government: and the other for giving it a *great deal*. One for making it as *democratical* as possible; and the other for approaching *very nearly* to *kingship and aristocracy*. As there was nobody to use bribery and corruption, and as every man really meant to do what was best for the country, a spirit of moderation at last prevailed, and the government, such as it now is, was agreed on and went into execution, GENERAL WASHINGTON being, soon afterwards, chosen as first President.

Just after this General Government went into operation, the Revolution in France broke out. The two parties in America took their sides, for and against, with wonderful aptness and regularity. The aristocrats against, and the Democrats for, and, perhaps, these wordy contests, in America, exceeded in violence those in England. By-and-by England was at war with the Republicans of France. The parties then took, one the side of England, and the other the side of France. And, from that moment to the close of the war, and even to this moment, the Aristocrats (what there is left of them) have

been upholding the cause of England, or, rather, of the English Government.

The Aristocrats took the name of *Federalists*, from being, as they said, friends of the Federal, or General, Government. The other party have called themselves *Republicans*; and these appear now to be the settled appellations. The horrid acts committed in France, during the first years of the Revolution, alienated many good people from the cause of the revolution itself, and, for some years, gave the Federalists in America a decided ascendancy over the Republicans. They had, besides, the amazing advantage of having the name, at least, of GENERAL WASHINGTON to aid them. Mr. ADAMS succeeded General Washington in 1797; war was actually begun against France, owing, in a great measure, to the folly and insolence of the Directory, but, not a little to the Federalists. However, this war was soon put an end to by the return of wiser councils in France; Mr. JEFFERSON was elected in, instead of Mr. ADAMS, in 1801; the Federalists, by this event, were completely ousted, and they have never since been able to regain their lost power and influence. Mr. ADAMS was a wise and most excellent man; a true lover of his country, and of the cause of freedom in every country. But, he was beset with a host of very able intriguing men, who had views wholly different from his. *He* was afraid of the destruction of liberty from the spirit of innovation; *they* were in hopes of rearing an aristocracy under the pretence of such a fear. *He* has given the best proof of his sincerity by supporting the measures of his successful rival; *they* have given the best proof of their hypocrisy and their selfish views by opposing those measures, be they what they might, even at the manifest risk of the independence of their country.

The numerous hostile, or demi-hostile, acts of our government towards America, and especially the impressment of their seamen upon the high seas, no man has ever attempted seriously to justify; nor is there any Englishman of any reputation who would venture to hazard that reputation by putting his name to an attempt at such a justification. All that has ever been done, on this side of the water, is to use evasions and palliatives; to plead necessity; and to express regret at that necessity. But, in America, the Federalists

justified the thing, and, when their own government threatened to go to war to obtain redress, or, rather, to defend its seamen, the Federalists actually gave the cue to our newspaper writers, and others, to accuse that government of *wishing to aid Napoleon*; the effect produced by which is notorious. It was *this charge* against the American Government, which made the war popular in England. It was implicitly believed that the American Government had taken advantage of our danger *to join Napoleon in the war against us*. The *real* cause of the war was kept out of sight. The people never heard of it; and, after a while, would not hear it. Our newspapers very artfully and wickedly copied the charge against the American government, and sent it forth, day after day, in the form of "*Extracts from American Papers*;" and, when the falsehood had once sunk into the public mind, it was impossible to remove it. Thus, we owe to these gentlemen fifty millions, at least, of our Debt. I wish we *owed* it them in the literal sense of the word!

But, if their conduct was thus wicked before the war, what shall we say to their conduct *during* the war? All the means they made use of to embarrass the General Government, to assist the enemy, to prevent the people from making exertions in defence of the country; to record these would require volumes. But, the *Hartford Convention* must not pass without particular notice. Its object unquestionably was to effect a division of the Union, unless the government gave way to the Federalists. To pretend that it could have any other object would be downright hypocrisy. The government kept steadily on its march. It relied upon the good sense, and public spirit, and valour of the people. It had neither guards, nor spies, nor suspended laws to protect it. The country was invaded at many points; large tracts of territory had been taken possession of in the name of our king; mighty fleets loaded with troops hovered on the coast; England, with her renowned army and all her tremendous power, had no other enemy; and the finances of America were in a state of the utmost derangement: and *this* was the moment when a Convention of Delegates from the four Eastern States met at Hartford to overawe the President and the two Houses of Congress. We all remember the *hopes*, which

the meeting of these men excited. It was, at one time, positively asserted, that they had resolved on a division of the Union; and, I never shall be made to believe, that *some assurances of that sort had not been given in this quarter of the world.* But, at any rate, what mischief were these men doing their country, if their conduct only gave rise to such an opinion *here!* Are such deeds as this to be ascribed to, and excused upon the ground of, mere *party spirit?* I know of nothing that can be urged even in palliation of such a deed.

However, this diabolical project failed, and free government was not doomed to be swept from the face of the earth. The American arms taught us that nothing but disgrace was to be gained in the contest; our government hastened to make peace, be the motive what it might; and the Delegates from Hartford arrived at the city of Washington with the result of their deliberations, just about the time that the news of *peace* arrived from GHENT and that of *victory* from NEW-ORLEANS!

It would be wonderful indeed, if any political party could, in any country, live long under disgrace like this, and, accordingly, the *Federalists* appear, from the last intelligence that I have received, to be fallen into contempt. It will be very long before an aristocratical faction will again rear its head in America. But, it ought to be observed here, that it was not the *whole body* of Federalists, who went to these monstrous lengths. Perhaps not a twentieth part of them. The great mass of men, who passed under that appellation, were always, as far as my observation went, very sincere friends of freedom, but thought that some little distinction of rank might be necessary in a great and rich community. This was a point upon which men might honestly differ. Nay, men may be excused for doing very violent things against political rivals. But, when the enemy is *in the country*; when the question clearly is *unanimity* or *slavery*; then to attempt to divide is nothing short of treason, and *real* treason too, treason against one's native land.

I should have observed, as I went along, that, as there is an old saying, that no very great mischief ever was done without a *priest* having had a hand in it, so it really happened here; for, the priests, or presbyters, or whatever else they may be

called in New England, appear to have had much to do in all these aristocratical proceedings. New England consists of the four states of Massachusetts, Rhode Island, New-Hampshire, and Connecticut. There is no *reason* for this appellation of *New England* now, seeing that it is known in the language of the *laws*. This part of the Union was more particularly peopled from England than from any other part. Not having any extent of back country, they have received less mixture from emigration. There is a wonderful power in *traditionary habits* and in mere *names*. The New Englanders celebrate the anniversary of the landing of their forefathers at a place called *Portsmouth*. It must be a great-minded man, indeed, who can wholly get out of him what he has sucked in with his mother's milk. These things have weight with men without their knowing it themselves. Be this as it may, it is very certain that the people of this part of the Union always talk of *New England* even to apparent affectation. Far be it from me to find fault with this. I should be the most unhappy wretch that ever lived, if I thought that a grandchild of mine would hate England; but, gentlemen Federalists and Priests of New England, though we shall be happy to hear that you love the *country* of your forefathers, we must beg you to believe, that we feel very little flattered by your processions and thanksgivings for the entrance of the Cossacks into Paris, and for the restoration of the Bourbons, whom our common ancestors held in abhorrence as despots; and that we by no means rejoice at any event, in any part of the world, that tends to deprive us of the hope of seeing all nations as free as you are. We humbly presume to believe, with all due deference to your Reverences and Worships, that we know the true interests of Old England as well, pretty nearly, as you do, and that we have a sincere regard for her happiness and her honour; and we venture to assure you, that we are fully persuaded, that if you had succeeded in oversetting the government of your country, it would have been the most fatal blow that Old England ever received.

I have said that there is no *established church* in the United States; but, in the states called New England, there is a law, I believe, still existing, which compels people to *pay* towards the support of *some*

sort of priest or other; and, as all the priests, or the greater part of them, are of one sort, this is a species of hierarchy. All hierarchies took the alarm at the proceedings of the French revolutionists. To tell men, that they might live and die without priests of any kind, was not to be forgiven; and, accordingly, the priesthood of New England seem to have imbibed a most implacable enmity to the French republicans, though the ancestors of the New Englanders were republicans themselves. The moment the French Revolutionists declared against religion, they were called atheists. Atheist is an ugly name. It is like "mad-dog." And, as the atheists are also republicans, atheism and republicanism were very soon used by the enemies of the revolution as synonymous terms; and, as the English government was at war against the French, it was called, especially by the aristocrats of New England, "the Bulwark of Religion."

Thus have I given you, John Bull, a sketch of the political character of the United States of America. I shall, in future Numbers, have to show you in what manner this truly republican government acts; how it is carried on; how it manages the affairs of the people who have chosen it; what its expenses are; what is the situation of the people under it. I intend, in short, to enable you to compare the acts and effects of a government, chosen by the people, with the acts and effects of our own government. I shall, also, from time to time, inform you of the state of parties, and of public opinions in the United States; this being a matter of much greater importance to you than can be any thing that takes place in France, or on any part of the Continent of Europe. Having thus opened the series, I conclude this first Number in the hope that I have awakened your attention to what the future Numbers are intended to contain.

WM. COBBETT.

P. S. The Prince Regent was brought to town seven days ago. He has held, what is called a Court; but nobody besides the Ministers have seen him, with the exception of the Recorder of London. It is, as I said some Numbers back, Dropsy which he has. The fright has had an effect on his mind, long become feeble, and tainted, perhaps, with hereditary insanity. What a sight is here for a people like the English to behold! How ashamed must every man of sense and spirit feel at this sight! What a warning for the people of America! Surely these things cannot long be tolerated! This man expends, on himself and his immediate associates, more every week than the President of the United States is allowed for a year. His stay-maker and milliner receive more out of the English taxes than Mr. Madison receives out of those of America. And yet, the Cossacks of New England said, that they would prefer the British government, Monarchy and all. Really, if they should still be of the same opinion, and will but just move over to Nova Scotia, or go up to New-Brunswick, I do not know but we might consent to their having some one of our hopeful race to reign over them. Not the Regent! oh, no! He is too precious an article for us to spare. Suppose we resign the Duke of York and Mrs. Clarke to them? They are both subscribers to the Bible Societies in London, and, I dare say, that, under the influence of the Cossack Priesthood, they would make a most pious Royal Pair.

I have, this moment, learnt, that a bill is about to be brought into parliament by the Ministry, to make the paper money pass for two years longer; that is to say, to enable the Bank to continue to refuse to pay their notes in real money. If this do really take place, the funding system will stand openly confessed to be rotten. Such a bill will be a regular declaration of Bankruptcy, and it will make good, to the very year, PAINE's memorable prophesy.

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